HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

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Conservatism on the March: A series of developments in the past ten days have served to lift the hopes of conservatives in Washington:

● Senator William F. Knowland (R.-Cal.) has seized the leadership of those who press for real curbs on labor boss power and has carried the fight against bossism onto the offensive.

First, on April 19, the bull-necked Californian literally charged into a Fresno meeting of CIO leaders who — perhaps defiantly — had issued him an invitation to speak, and tongue-lashed the assembled bosses for their dictatorial labor practices and pro-Democratic activities. The union listeners had reportedly received orders from their superiors not to applaud — and only one muffled hand clap followed Knowland's arraignment. But a number of those in the audience went to the Senator privately later and congratulated him on his courage and forthrightness.

Returning to Washington, Knowland exploded a bombshell on the floor of the Senate, April 22 — to the chagrin of the Democratic leaders preparing to offer some "slap-on-the-wrist" labor reform legislation. The GOP leader announced that he would offer his severe labor reform bill (see HUMAN EVENTS for February 3 and February 10, 1958) as an amendment to the mild measure backed by the Democratic leadership. Knowland emphasized that he had to do it this way because the Senate Labor Committee — headed by Senator Lister Hill (D.-Ala.), friend of the labor bosses — would not consider and act on his bill.

Opinion on the Hill: Knowland has bettered his chances of gubernatorial election in California and advanced the chances of genuine remedial labor legislation in Congress.

● To the dismay of "liberals," the Senate Judiciary Committee suddenly moved last week to limit the powers of the Supreme Court. The Committee passed, by 9 to 6 votes, two of the provisions of the complicated Jenner-Butler bill, aimed at cutting down the appellate jurisdiction of the Court.

If Congress should confirm the recommendations of the Committee, it will be the first time since 1868 that the Legislative has thus diminished the powers of the Judicial branch.

Led by states-righter Chairman James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.), the Committee turned the tables on the Supreme Court's *Watkins* case decision. That decision sharply limited the scope of questions that could be asked of witnesses by congressional committees. The Committee approved giving investigating bodies the final power to determine the pertinence of questions to witnesses.

Next, the Committee approved stripping the Court of appellate jurisdiction in cases involving admission of lawyers to state practice. Thus it rebuked the *Konigsberg* ruling, in which the Court decreed that state examiners could not deny admission to the bar on the grounds that an applicant refused to answer questions concerning Communist party membership — one of the long line of cases involving security which have aroused the country to indignation.

(A third proposal — to permit Executive department heads to fire any Federal employee, whether in a "sensitive" position or not, as a subversive — was turned down by the Committee by a 5 to 9 vote.)

The remaining portions of the Jenner-Butler measure which await action by the Committee (probably this week): (1) strengthening the Smith Act, under which many Communists have been convicted of subversion; and (2) opening the way, blocked by the Court, for state governments to operate in the same areas as the Federal Government. (One of the Court's 1956 decisions in this field banned state sedition laws.)

Senator Jenner (R.-Ind.) commented that the Judiciary Committee, by its actions this week, had effectively reprimanded the High Court for seeking to invade the legislative field.

Conservative legislators call for stepped-up support in the battle to re-establish internal security safeguards — in the form of letter-writing campaigns, to Senators and Congressmen, to help put the Jenner-Butler bill across.

● Contrary to many news interpretations, the massed forces of Congress, jealous of the powers of the Legislature, have obviously forced modification of the President's Pentagon reorganization plan. Congress saw in it an excessive demand for Executive power, and critical speeches by Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.) and Representative Carl Vinson (D.-Ga.) reflected this reaction. *Additionally, Senate leaders firmed against Ike's plan when they received reports that General Douglas MacArthur had expressed his opposition to it privately.*

GOP leaders went to the White House, April 15 (after the outlines of the plan had appeared), for the weekly conference with the President and told Eisenhower that he was in for trouble.

One of them was reliably reported to have said — shaking his finger — to the President: "The Senate will reject that bill. You had better drastically revise it."

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Two days later, when the first draft was sent to Congress, Ike had apparently heeded such advice and backed down on important parts of the bill — notably the placing of congressionally voted funds directly in the hands of the Secretary of Defense. Modern Republicans, who had talked of the "fighting General" and the "new Eisenhower," suffered a keen disappointment.

● The Daughters of the American Revolution have just closed their annual meeting in the Nation's Capital with a budget of resolutions, the firmness of which reflects the growing conservative sentiment of the country. It was noted how this powerful body is becoming more and more forthright in its defense of American traditionalism.

The Daughters, with very few minority protests, voted resolutions demanding US withdrawal from the UN (and removal of the UN from American territory), against foreign aid, opposing the National Council of Churches and in favor of curbing the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. One comment: "The Daughters are becoming tougher."

Ike's Pentagon Plan: Some of the confusion over Ike's plan to reorganize the Defense establishment (why, for example, do some former advocates of unification oppose it?) may be dispelled by the following analysis from a former high State Department official.

"I think the real argument against this reorganization plan or any other," he writes to HUMAN EVENTS, "is as simple as it is fundamental. Until and unless we have a *strategic doctrine* (which we certainly do not have now, while we pull and haul between 'containment' and 'roll-back'), we are better off with the known evils we presently have in the current defense setup than we would be if we had a centralized establishment which would be no more capable of evolving a strategic doctrine than the Pentagon is now.

"We cannot have a strategic doctrine until and unless we have a national policy which identifies the global interests of vital national concern to the US, for which we are prepared to wage all-out nuclear warfare against the Sino-Soviet coalition—either with or without allies, and without waiting for the UN to go through the hocus-pocus of deciding whether the Sino-Soviets have been guilty of 'aggression.'

"If we should ever reach this point of politico-military evolution, then it would make sense to reorganize the Pentagon — to have a unified General Staff, completely divorced from administrative and operational functions, under a single Chief of Staff reporting directly to the President as Commander in Chief.

"First we have to have a doctrine — then a mission to perform. Then we can cut the establishment to fit both."

Business Courage: The article "Men to Match my Mountains: A Blueprint for Business Political Action," by James M. Brewbaker (see HUMAN EVENTS for April 7), urging greater courage in political action by businessmen and their organizations, continues to draw letters (as reported last week) from those interested in obtaining solid political results.

This week, William H. Book, Executive Vice President of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, writes to say that since 1940 his organization has been taking active part in politics, so that "businessmen in this community have been more active and more effective in this field than they had been before."

With what results? Mr. Book says: "By and large we have had a vast improvement in the caliber of people who have been nominated and elected to the state legislature for Marion County [Indianapolis]. Special effort has also been made to assure that competent persons run for and are elected to (and supported in office, once elected) other offices, including Congressman, city council and county council.

"I think we have had a measure of success in this effort. The fact, for example, that every member of the legislature from Marion County last year voted for the right-to-work law was highly significant. It could not have passed without their votes. There was not a single defection and not a single member ducked the vote.

"We do not have in Indiana domination of government by labor unionism. That is no accident."

Capital conservatives note that the unfavorable rating given GOP Representative Charles B. Brownson (from the District comprising Indianapolis) by the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action, in their analysis of congressional voting records, is testimony to the effect of Mr. Book's organization and its political action work.

Two Parties the Same: Former Democratic Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana turned down offers from the Montana GOP to back him in a bid for the upcoming Senatorial election on the Republican slate. It is understood here in Washington (where Wheeler practices law) that the former Senator weighed the possibility for some weeks, despite the fact that he is 76 years old. Friends say Wheeler believed he would have had a good chance — running as a GOP candidate — of beating incumbent Senator Mike Mansfield, presently Democratic whip in the upper house.

Wheeler's statement declining the Republicans' invitation rates as significant. Resident in the Nation's Capital during the ten years since his retirement from Congress, he is known as a keen observer of politics and his opinion is frequently sought by the press. Wheeler said that, if he did return to the Senate, he would be only a "lone voice crying in the wilderness." A stern opponent of foreign aid and globaloney, the Senator believes that "both major parties today are committed to substantially the same foreign policy."

He added: "They both indorse giving away billions of dollars to any foreign country, Communist or non-Communist . . . stationing American soldiers in every part of the globe and otherwise seeking to dictate the internal policies of all nations from Washington. . . .

"The national conventions of both parties and those in control of party policies are dominated by the same group of internationalists who have succeeded in preventing the American people from having the choice between parties on the most fundamental issues that face us."

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The Senator went on: "While a member of the Senate I tried for decades to warn against the policy of the internationalists, pointing out that if we stayed out of World War II, Germany and Russia would knock each other out, and that if we became involved, it would mean loss of lives of thousands of Americans, the creation of a huge American debt with its attendant tax burdens and would earn us the hatred of those countries that we helped the most. I still hold the same opinion.

"I still believe that the policies we are pursuing today in the international field are as suicidal as those that led us into World War II, but so long as the policy of both parties remains in the clutch of the internationalists, I do not feel the contributions I could make as a member of the Senate are sufficiently greater than those that I will continue to make as a private citizen to warrant the strenuous efforts of a campaign at my stage of life."

Gold Exodus: Unnoticed in the general press has been the fact that gold movement has been "acting up" in a very interesting manner recently.

Harold Dorsey, in his financial column in the Washington *Post* (April 21), reports $600 million of "gold exports" since the end of February. He points out if the pace continues, it would put the rate at $4 billion a year. (We have about $22 billion in gold in this country, about $14 billion of it on commitment to foreign interests.) Dorsey says: "From an historical viewpoint the rate of gold withdrawal since the first cut in reserve requirement (for the bank) has been a sharp one."

Actually, economists here say, the $600 million of gold withdrawals alone is not substantial. But it is a fact that there's $100 million less of gold than a year ago, and international psychology being what it is, you can't tell . . . They say that some of the more sophisticated international financiers have a feeling that the US is in a developing deflationary trend and that the public mood may become so deflationary that there will appear less opposition in Congress to raising the price of gold. At any rate, these international people are inclined to hedge. Such are the possible portents of the gold exodus — say experts here.

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NEA: Proponents of traditional education applauded the performance last week of Professor Arthur Bestor, appearing in an "Education, USA" panel before the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

● Bestor, a long-time critic of the National Education Association, delivered a stinging attack on "progressive education" and punctured an NEA attempt to inflate the percentage of American high school students taking the crucially important subject of physics.

An NEA apologist, attempting to smother criticism of the small percentage of US pupils engaged in this vital study, had claimed that "about three-fourths of those in the upper third of the intelligence distribution" were taking physics. This meant, the NEA claim continued, that "three-fourths of those who presumably could do well in physics if they were to enroll in it" were taking the subject.

Analyzing this stew of upside-down reasoning, Bestor pointed out:

1) *The NEA assumption that only the top one-third of the students could "do well" in physics reveals the educationists' low esteem for the learning ability of their charges. ("Contempt for the innate ability of the common man," he observed, "has never been so virulent as it is among those American professional educationsts who like most to talk about democracy.")*

2) The NEA's "three-fourths of one-third" figuring is an attempt to shift discussion away from the hard and fast percentages, which tell the tale of "progressive" strangulation of such subjects as physics. US Office of Education figures, Bestor disclosed, reveal that only 24.3 per cent of the Nation's twelfth-grade population is engaged in physics — rather than the phantom "three-fourths" figure conjured up by NEA mumbo-jumbo.

Nuclear Tests: The propaganda mills of the left wing are again grinding out reams of material aimed at halting American nuclear tests. Most theatrical gesture by the opponents of further testing was the recent law suit filed by Norman Thomas, Linus Pauling and others, attempting to force the US Government to halt its tests. This move drew a withering fire from Representative Francis E. Walter (D.-Pa.), Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, who declared:

"It seems obvious to me that in instituting court proceedings against the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Norman Thomas is simply serving as a screen of respectability while the black hand of the Communist conspiracy remains clearly visible. The participation of Messrs. Linus Pauling, A. L. Wirin and other 'plaintiffs' in that preposterous law suit indicates without any doubt who the real instigators of the 'law suit' are." Walter branded Pauling and Wirin as "leading defenders of Communist causes."

● When the "fallout" scare was at its height, in May and June of 1957, HUMAN EVENTS pointed up the central role played by Pauling, and published some of the facts about his numerous Communist-front activities. Pauling's listings filled five single-spaced typewritten pages in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

A Committee report in 1951 stated that his record indicated that he was "primarily engrossed in placing his scientific attainments at the service of a host of organizations which have in common their complete subservience to the Communist party USA, and the Soviet Union" (see HUMAN EVENTS for June 8, 1957).

● Chiming in on the anti-testing litany is the so-called "National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy," which also utilizes the services of Communist-fronter Pauling. Among the well-known left-wingers who have lent their names to this committee's declarations are *Saturday Review* editor Norman Cousins, polltaker Elmo Roper, Farmers' Union President James Patton, Rev. Martin Luther King and songwriter Oscar Hammerstein II.

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● The last-named of these anti-testing celebrities has been in the Capital spotlight recently for other reasons as well. Lyricist Hammerstein, called to testify before a subcommittee of the Small Business Committee of the House, furnished Capital conservatives a humorous example of how the supposedly "liberal" mind really works when its own economic interests are at stake. Hammerstein, a political left-winger with half-a-dozen listings of affiliation with Communist-sponsored enterprises, is also a director of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP).

Questioned about the internal workings of the ASCAP organization, Hammerstein affirmed a previous belligerent, and revealing, statement: *"I think there is one basic thing that we ought to face, and that is that ASCAP is not, and does not pretend to be, a democracy. ASCAP is a group of property owners. . . .*

"Let us admit" — "liberal" Hammerstein had added — "we are capitalists, small and large. Whether we like that or not, that is what we are, and that is what the organization is, a group of capitalists, of property owners."

Reuther: The fate of those who cross Walter Reuther is suggested by the story of an automobile dealer in Cleveland, Ohio, who recently agreed to sponsor Fulton Lewis, Jr.'s nightly news program. Following Reuther's second day of testimony before the McClellan Committee, Lewis exposed the union chief's attempted cover-up of UAW moves to intimidate judges ruling against them in cases involving violence and other matters. After Lewis' broadcast, his Cleveland sponsor was subjected to a barrage of anonymous, abusive phone calls, advising him to drop patronage of the Lewis broadcasts.

"Ordinarily," Lewis commented in a subsequent broadcast, "the reaction of a listener who doesn't like what he hears over the air, is to call the radio station [not the sponsor] and protest. In this case, radio station WSRS received not one single telephone call, either that evening, nor at any time since." Lewis observed that "it would seem that if this broadcast was such as to inspire all this action in Cleveland, the same broadcast would have inspired similar action and protest in other parts of the country also. It did not." (For the complete story of Reuther and the Labor Rackets Committee hearings, read "UAW Violence in Kohler, Wisconsin," in the Article Section of this issue.)

Reciprocal Trade: Those following the course of legislation on the Hill predict that important alterations in American trade policy may be forthcoming, as a result of the fight to renew the Reciprocal Trade Agreement, due to expire unless Congress acts this year.

Conservatives pondering the tangle of legislation surrounding American trade policy cite, as an illuminating commentary, Nevada Senator George Malone's recently published book, *Mainline* (The Long House; Post Office Box 3, New Canaan, Conn.; price: $3 clothbound; $2 paperback). Senator Malone, long a foe of those seeking to knock down American tariff barriers, points out the folly of American trade policy — artificially shoring up foreign economies so that they can compete with our own, while simultaneously removing all protections that can be of assistance to American businesses.

Under the notorious GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), Malone points out, "over 55,000 concessions have now been made, all of them to freeze or lower America's tariffs. An average reduction of 68 per cent is now in effect, and our tariffs are the lowest of any major trading nation in the world."

Scoring GATT as "our economic Yalta," the Nevada Republican points out that it "ends our American policy of bi-lateral trade agreements," and that it is "in no way responsible to the elected representatives of the people of these United States."

Erratum: In its issue for April 21, 1958, HUMAN EVENTS incorrectly listed the address of Public Action, Inc., a new organization designed to mobilize sentiment on behalf of conservative legislative causes. The correct address is 951 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y.

ROBERT P. SKINNER, Former Ambassador to Turkey: "I like HUMAN EVENTS because I believe it to be factually honest and intellectually sincere. Its shrewd evaluation of the Washington scene helps me to reach my own conclusions and it's always interesting."

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Article Section *Printed in Two Sections*

UAW VIOLENCE IN KOHLER, WISCONSIN

What the Senate Hearings Really Proved

By WILLIAM MOORE

FOR A NUMBER of years, the public has been warned against the aims and methods of Walter Reuther, now president of the United Auto Workers and vice president of the AFL-CIO. All too frequently, such admonitions have been smothered by Reuther's apologists, and disparaged as the baseless allegations of those in the hire of "big business."

Now, however, those warnings cannot be so easily dismissed. Thanks to the dogged efforts of Senators Carl Curtis, Barry Goldwater and Karl Mundt, during the recent Labor Rackets Committee investigation of the UAW, there now exists an extensive public record — page upon page of sworn testimony, proving that the warnings were all too true.

For by their admissions, by their evasions, and by the many damaging sworn charges which they conspicuously failed to contest, Reuther and his UAW showed clearly that the case against them was too overwhelming for refutation.

Many opponents of union bossism feel that if the Committee's hearings on the UAW had been conducted by Chairman John McClellan and Counsel Robert Kennedy with the same zeal that they had shown in pursuing Dave Beck, the disclosures at the Reuther investigation would have been even more sensational.

In any case, the hearings, as conducted, had one overall result that none who studies the transcript can doubt: when the UAW investigation ended, April 1, 1958, Walter Reuther stood self-condemned.

What the Hearings Accomplished

The four-week inquiry into the strike against the Kohler, Wis., plumbing ware firm was decried as meaningless by Reuther's Democratic supporters. Yet those hearings were probably the most significant the Rackets Committee has conducted, not excepting its exposure of the thievery and corruption of Beck.

The stern indictment made by the witnesses, *including the UAW's,* is not the end, but the beginning, of the story of unions that rely on violence to enforce their demands. The record established at these hearings is a foundation — a groundwork of incontestable fact concerning the readiness of some elements of the union movement to resort, as a matter of calculated policy, to brute force.

Reuther's bland assurance that he and his union abhor violence was torpedoed by an aging mother in a little-noted bit of testimony at the outset of the hearings. Counsel Kennedy had asked Mrs. Alice Tracey what happened when she tried to get through Reuther's pickets, massed before the gates of the Kohler Company, to the job that had enabled her to rear her three children. This is the answer given by Mrs. Tracey, who put her children through school and supported herself by working for the company 31 years — the 31 years since her husband's death: "Well, I was tromped with something besides soft soled shoes, because my shoe was torn off at the side."

"Somebody stepped on your feet?" asked Kennedy.

"It was Mr. Ferrazza," Mrs. Tracey answered. "He was standing right in front of me and he was stomping like a pacer would." (Mrs. Tracey was followed on the stand by Harold Jacobs, who said of Ferrazza: "I saw him kick a man in the groin. He kicked me in the leg. He was quite handy with his feet.")

Simple testimony, given in the homely words of a worker. But its significance is this: "Mr. Ferrazza" is Jess Ferrazza, then administrative assistant to Emil Mazey. Mazey, UAW secretary-treasurer, is second in command to Walter Reuther, the man who professedly abhors violence.

IN HIS TESTIMONY before the Rackets Committee, Reuther in effect disowned, and even criticized, the brutal conduct of UAW goons in the Kohler strike. His purpose, of course, was to establish that he personally was not responsible for that conduct. Yet the evidence that unfolded before the Rackets Committee showed that a sustained relationship existed between the high UAW brass in Detroit and the violent and coercive activities of UAW operatives on the scene in Kohler:

- It was established that the UAW high command paid the legal expenses of the terrorists. It furnished half the $100-a-week salary of William Vinson to his wife, during the 13½ months Vinson was in prison for a brutal assault on a frail nonstriker.

- *It was established that the UAW brought in from the outside more than a dozen "international representatives" to do its bidding. These "international representatives" were directly responsible to UAW headquarters in Detroit. They were Reuther's agents plenipotentiary.*

- It was established that Mazey, the high UAW official who gave his personal attention to the Kohler strike, had a continuing responsibility for events in Kohler and Sheboygan. Mazey is no flunky. As secretary-treasurer, he is the second-highest ranking officer in the UAW; above him there is only Reuther.

- *Moreover, it was established that Mazey's behavior during the strike, far from attempting to restrain his charges from coercive activity, was directed all the other way.*

For example, Mazey led the way in vindictive action against Judge Ferdinand Schlichting, who had sentenced William Vinson to prison. Mazey charged that Schlichting was unfit for the bench, and attempted to organize a

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boycott of a chain of stores in which the judge had an interest. When Catholic and Protestant clergymen in Sheboygan protested Mazey's attack on Schlichting, the UAW boss turned on them as well. The Nation was scandalized when Mazey, questioned about this episode in the hearings, declared that the eight Catholic priests of the strike area were "not men of integrity."

In one hearing-room exchange, Mazey also hurled unprintable language at Kohler counsel Lyman C. Conger. (Senator Goldwater reported that on the same day Mazey approached him and demanded: "Why do you put up with that SOB Conger?")

It was to Mazey's Detroit office that the various UAW operatives in Kohler reported. Any doubt that high UAW officials — and not the local strikers, as sometimes claimed —directed the Kohler strike was removed by Robert Burkhardt, international organizer in general charge of the strike. Asked whom he reported to, Burkhardt named Mazey, Ferrazza and Harvey Kitzman, regional UAW director.

"Who decided who should be sent up there?" Burkhardt was asked.

"I believe," he replied, "it was the secretary-treasurer's office and the regional office in Milwaukee."

Behind the Smokescreen: Walter Reuther

The question of responsibility was tossed around among the UAW witnesses like a hot potato. To hear them tell it, nobody in the UAW is very much responsible for anything the union does. For example, Don Rand, the UAW "international representative" directing the union's successful attempt to prevent the Kohler Company from unloading a clay boat at Sheboygan, sought to picture the violence attending the strike as the work of exuberant but innocent boys.

The various UAW officials similarly attempted to dismiss their responsibility with flippant and grotesque sworn statements such as these:

✔ Kohler violence victims hoaxed many of the strike's 846 acts of violence, and vandalized their own homes to make themselves "heroes" to the company and get their homes repaired free; ✔ mass picketing, banned by Wisconsin law, does not become illegal until it is forbidden by a tribunal; ✔ violence which occurred after inflammatory exhortations by UAW brass was "spontaneous"; ✔ numerous union strong men from out of state, roaming Kohler and Sheboygan, had no instructions from UAW higher-ups.

At one point in the questioning of Rand, concerning responsibility for various union acts of violence, Senator Mundt told him: "You're out-Jimmying Jimmy Hoffa." (Hoffa, now President of the Teamsters Union, was booted out of the witness chair for evasiveness and lack of memory.)

In spite of the smokescreen of evasions, it became apparent that one man, and one man alone, had final, positive authority as to what should or should not happen at Kohler. Senator Goldwater questioned Rand:

Goldwater: Let me ask you a question here. In your job as Administrative Assistant to Mr. Mazey, whom do you report to?
Rand: Mr. Mazey.
Goldwater: Who does Mr. Mazey report to?
Rand: The Executive Board of the International Union.

* * *

Goldwater: Who is president of the Executive Board?
Rand: Mr. Walter Reuther is President of the International Union.

The payoff in the UAW's round robin of irresponsibility was the solemn assurance forwarded by Reuther — the most powerful labor leader in the country — that he does not control the executive council; rather, he said, "it has control over me"!

REUTHER AND HIS lieutenants also claimed the Kohler strike was a unique one, in which the violence arose from the workers' fears and hatred of the "feudal" policies of the company. Refuting this, and further suggesting the high echelon's implication in the Kohler violence, were such facts as these:

• The CIO, parent body of the UAW, conducted strikes, marked by violence and 37 deaths, from 1937 to 1941, when — as Senator Goldwater noted — Reuther was an important official in CIO circles.

• *A small mountain of newspaper clippings, produced by Goldwater, recounted strike after strike, involving UAW operatives, that had been scarred by violence.*

• Representative Clare Hoffman (R.-Mich.), appearing as a witness before the Committee, furnished numerous examples of UAW violence, and linked Mazey directly with the importation of hundreds of pickets from Detroit for a strike at Clinton, Mich.

• *The Perfect Circle strike, which began in 1955, was almost identical to the Kohler strike in its pattern of violence — a fact which UAW witnesses feebly attempted to explain away.*

Confronted with testimony that the violence at Perfect Circle followed the Kohler pattern, the UAW chiefs came up with this explanation: Perfect Circle was also a "feudal" company with no understanding of collective bargaining! So again the violence was unique — not representative of the union; hence, anything went.

Voting for the Strike — Only 37 Per Cent

A number of other material points at issue in the bitter four-year old strike were also established. For example: Allen Graskamp, president of striking local 833, conceded — when confronted with union minutes — that only 1,105 of the workers, or 37 per cent, voted for the strike. (Reuther, testifying later, stuck to his original story that a majority voted for the strike, and added puckishly that those who failed to vote were under pressure from their wives to get home early for dinner.)

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Graskamp testified that 14 international representatives, or men of their stature, were brought in from the outside to "build morale." Among them were Vinson and John Gunaca. The last-named is accused of being one of three men who broke the neck of a nonstriker.

Reuther did not attempt to defend Vinson and Gunaca. Terming Vinson's attack "reprehensible," the union boss said Gunaca should go back to Wisconsin to face charges in some county outside the strike area. If there was a twinkle in Reuther's eye when he said Gunaca should stand trial in Wisconsin, this will explain: For almost all of the four years of the strike, Michigan Governor G. Mennen Williams, a Reuther ally, has protected Gunaca against extradition to Wisconsin, on the grounds that Gunaca cannot get a fair trial there. Reuther's words offered no assurance that Williams will change his mind.

Williams is only one of many politicians and law enforcement officials who have done favors for Reuther's powerful union. Sheriff Theodore Mosch of Sheboygan County admitted that he took little action against the terrorists — an admission of importance, because the union financed his campaign for re-election at the height of the strike. Former Mayor Rudolph Ploetz of Sheboygan, where most of the Kohler workers live, accused of being soft on terrorists, admitted that he was the UAW's candidate.

(Ploetz denounced as "perjury" a sworn statement that during one violent episode he had asked Mosch: "How much are you obligated to the union for?" The question had been attributed to Ploetz by Steen Heimke, present Sheboygan police chief.)

One of the more amazing stories of foot-dragging by local law enforcement officials was told by Walter Wagner, Sheboygan police chief during the bitterest phases of the strike. After several cars belonging to nonstrikers had been dynamited, he said, he received information that the terrorists' dynamite cache was near the strikers' soup kitchen.

Wagner said he, Sheriff Mosch and Mayor Ploetz found the cache in a ravine near the soup kitchen. Police and deputy sheriffs staked the site out, Wagner said, and on the fourth day four UAW strikers walked into their trap.

Lie detector tests indicated that three of the four had knowledge of the cache, Wagner said. But, he continued, a union attorney forbade the men to take further lie detector tests, and the county officials thereupon dropped the case on grounds of insufficient evidence. The investigation was stopped at the very moment when those responsible for the dynamiting might have been exposed.

Democratic Conduct of the Hearings

One of the more bizarre incidents in the conduct of the Democratic members of the Rackets Committee occurred during the Perfect Circle phase. William Caldwell, a UAW international representative, was accused of telling the strikers the union had $2 million to spend, and that he would see to it that sluggers sent to jail for bashing in heads were turned loose.

Mundt asked that Caldwell be brought to the stand for questioning. Chairman McClellan asked UAW Attorney Joseph Rauh: "How soon can you get Mr. Caldwell here?" Rauh replied that Caldwell had been excused, and was on his way back to Indianapolis. Although McClellan subsequently took responsibility for Caldwell's dismissal, his question to Rauh indicated that he personally had not decided to dispense with testimony from this important witness. The mystery of what happened to Caldwell was at last solved when Counsel Kennedy offered his explanation: *"I didn't feel he was necessary."*

Letting Reuther Run Wild

Further reflecting on the conduct of the hearings by Chairman and Counsel was the latitude of behavior permitted by them to Reuther. Seldom, if ever, have members of a congressional committee been subjected to such taunts as Reuther was allowed to hurl at the Committee Republicans.

He told the Republicans "you haven't studied your homework." He warned them not to use "smears or scare words." He accused Goldwater of being "against education." The UAW boss accused Mundt of being "antiquated" politically and even questioned the propriety of one of Mundt's campaign contributions.

Attacking the entire Republican party, Reuther charged that the GOP is losing out because it is "out of touch with the people." In one sally at Senator Curtis, Reuther told him: "Senator, you're digging where there's no pay dirt. The best politics you can play is to go to work on unemployment."

When Reuther began cross-examining Goldwater, Curtis asked if the rules permitted a witness to interrogate a Committee member. McClellan refused to shut Reuther off, as he had shut off other obstreperous witnesses. "I did not organize this set of hearings," McClellan explained. "I won't accept full responsibility for getting off the track."

McCLELLAN'S REFUSAL to call a halt reflected the bitter Republican-Democratic feud in the Committee over investigating Reuther and his UAW by inquiring into the Kohler strike, on which the union has spent upwards of $10 million. Democrats had shown little enthusiasm for the investigation, and Republicans inside and outside the Committee had accused them of trying to protect Reuther. (Among the reasons advanced was that Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts, Committee member and a Democratic Presidential hopeful, did not want to risk the ire of Reuther, a power in the Democratic party.)

While the Committee's practice in previous investigations had been to build up a case from rank-and-file witnesses and then call top officials of labor and management to reply, the Democrats sought to reverse policy and call Reuther as the first witness. The scheme would have

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given the persuasive UAW orator a chance to whitewash himself and his union before any evidence could be heard. (Denied this opportunity, Reuther brazenly took over the hearing room at the noon recess of the first day and handed reporters his prepared testimony at a press conference, to get his story out anyway.)

After his unavailing protest against Reuther's methods, Senator Curtis told the UAW boss: "No other citizen of the United States has been as disrespectful of the United States Senate as you have been."

Unabashed, HRH Reuther shot back: "I've never been treated so disrespectfully as I have by the Republicans of this Committee!"

Another significant point in the hearings was that established by Reuther's admission that he does not hesitate to use his members' compulsory dues to defeat political candidates and policies that a substantial number of the members may favor. Half the union members might be Republicans and yet be powerless to prevent their money from being used to defeat the Republican party.

When Mundt said Reuther was a "pretty strong Democrat," Reuther retorted: "Pretty strong? Why you fellows think I practically own the Democratic party."

Mundt shot back: "I think you have a mortgage on it in some areas."

STILL ANOTHER important aspect of the strike, clarified by the testimony of all the parties concerned, was the UAW boycott of Kohler products. This episode of the strike is one to frighten strong men in its implications of the use of union economic power. Herbert V. Kohler, president of the company, said it was an undisguised effort to destroy the firm — as an example to all American business. And the hearings established, from boycott director Rand's own mouth, the authenticity of a quote attributed to him by the *Wall Street Journal:* "It seems to me it is almost sinful to have any labor dispute degenerate to the point this one has — where we actually have to wreck the company. That's what we're doing, wrecking the company."

The boycott is a nation-wide crusade, amply financed by the dues of all the UAW's 1.4 million members in a dispute with which several hundred of them are concerned. It is so powerful that state legislatures, city governments and other municipalities have been forced to knuckle under to the union and pass resolutions against the use of Kohler ware. (HUMAN EVENTS for February 23, 1957, featured a full-length article on this phase of the strike: "Can Reuther's Boycott Bring Kohler to its Knees?" by Father Edward A. Keller.)

Persons, businesses and organizations that have no concern with the strike are the innocent victims. Taxpayers in far-off Connecticut, for example, may have to pay higher prices for plumbing equipment in their hospitals and schools if Kohler is the low bidder and the politicians decree that a higher bidder must get the contract.

One contractor told of having five bathtubs he was planning to install in new homes vandalized. He stopped buying Kohler tubs after terrorists had painted this warning on floors: "Stop Using Kohler Products."

Among the targets of the boycott have been community funds. These have been curtly ordered by CIO organizations to strike from the list of participating charities institutions, such as hospitals, which had contracts for the installation of Kohler fixtures.

The worst sufferers have been dealers, many of whom have spent many years and considerable sums promoting Kohler products; those who specialize in Kohler fixtures can be forced out of business. Such a campaign against innocent parties was clearly outside the law. When complaints were made, the boycotters desisted, only to turn aside to new techniques, new victims.

These tactics supported the testimony of Conger: "The union never voluntarily discontinued any type of illegal conduct. Whenever we were able, by legal action, to compel the union to discontinue one type of illegal conduct, they promptly switched to another equally illegal and coercive type of conduct."

SUCH IS THE history of UAW violence at Kohler. What was it that had touched off so tragic and brutal a conflict? Reuther and his lieutenants made violent charges that the Company forced the workers to strike — because the contract the UAW obtained, after being certified as the employees' bargaining agent in 1953, was "substandard."

However, after that contract was signed, Mazey told the workers, (with an allusion to previous bargaining by their independent union): "We have made more progress in this single set of negotiations in improving the contract than you had made previously in 17 years of activity on the part of the old union." And one UAW official said the contract had the most "improvements" of any first contract he had ever helped to negotiate.

Yet the next year, Reuther plunged the workers into the longest, costliest and bitterest strike in the history of the United States. It may well be — as Herbert Kohler said — that Reuther chose to wreck the Kohler Company as a grim example, to intimidate all American business firms.

William Moore is a well-known Washington correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune*, who has specialized in Senate investigations. He has also covered many international conferences, such as the one at which the United Nations was established at San Francisco in 1945. He served as his newspaper's correspondent in Moscow throughout 1956.

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